

URBAN RENEWAL CONTROVERSY:  
An Exploratory Study

by

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### Statement of the Problem

In recent years many communities have eliminated or rejected federally assisted urban renewal as a technique in the correction of their urban problems. This has been done through a vote of the city governing body, through a defeat in a bond election of necessary bonds to finance the city's share of urban renewal costs, or through a referendum. This opposition may only eliminate urban renewal until the next council meeting. Or, it may eliminate urban renewal until the next bond election. Or, it may eliminate urban renewal for a stated period of time, which in Kansas, is for ten years.

This opposition poses a problem to not only the local urban renewal administrator, but also to the concerned city official, community leader, and the concerned citizen, who see urban renewal as a useful technique of community development: a technique which, for example, can be used to eliminate blight, to boost the economic progress of a community, and/or to provide adequate homes for minority groups within a community.

It would be advantageous to the proponents of urban renewal to have some idea of the type of communities that are most likely to oppose urban renewal, and the type of communities in which urban renewal has the best chance of acceptance. There is a need to gain a better understanding of the controversy process surrounding federally assisted urban renewal, in order to contribute to its resolution.

### Purpose of the Study

This thesis is exploratory in nature. Its purpose is to study the controversy over urban renewal so as to give a starting point for further research, not to completely analyze the characteristics of opposition. This is done first through a survey of literature on urban renewal and secondly through a survey of literature on case studies of the controversy of urban renewal. From these surveys of the literature certain characteristics were discovered which might have some bearing on opposition. These characteristics were then studied in depth for a region. Since the case studies in urban renewal discuss only large cities, a smaller community was studied to determine the events and issues in small communities which bring about controversy in urban renewal.

### Limitations of the Study

Because of the exploratory nature of this study, it has certain limitations. There has been little comparative research on the controversy which occurs when urban renewal is proposed to a community. For this reason the comparison undertaken was of descriptive case studies of varying depth and format. These studies did not specifically state the characteristics of the communities which fostered controversy, therefore the characteristics which were compared are a result of deduction of this author. This study is a comparison of data relationships rather than a statistical analysis of regional characteristics.

The descriptive case study was limited by time and money. It was impossible to carry out an in-depth attitude analysis of

the community. The case study was further handicapped by an unwillingness of some of the opponents of urban renewal to discuss the situation.

### Organization of the Study

Chapter II is a short description of urban renewal. It gives a brief history of urban renewal and describes its general purpose. It also summarizes the requirements and elements of the program. It discusses the basis of the controversy which has occurred and some of the group interests which play an important part in this controversy.

Chapter III compares some of the major case studies on urban renewal. It compares the controversy incurred in the communities which were studied.

With the information which was gained from these case studies certain characteristics of communities within the Great Plains were studied. Chapter IV contains the results of this study.

To further study controversy, Chapter V is a case study of a community smaller than those which have been studied before. This community fits closely the trends discovered in Chapter IV. It discusses the issues and events of controversy in this community.

The concluding chapter discusses the findings of the research and suggests further study which is needed.

## CHAPTER II

### THE URBAN RENEWAL PROCESS

#### Evolution

The slums of American cities have been in existence since the conditions that fostered the Industrial Revolution in the 1830's. New methods of production brought unskilled and semi-skilled workers to the factories of the industrial cities. This new working class was forced to live near the factory because of the lack of low-cost transportation. The rural-to-urban migration increased during the nineteenth century. The per cent of the national population living in the cities jumped from five per cent in 1790 to over 20 per cent in 1850. These conditions resulting from industrialization and urbanization prompted the 52nd Congress to authorize the first funds for the urban problems of poverty, crime, and ill-health. In 1892, twenty thousand dollars was authorized to study the slums in cities over 2000,000 in population.

Little was done to improve the plight of the slum dweller until 1932. In this year President Hoover convened the Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership to discuss the decline of home building and mortgage credit. This conference stated that the major reason for the housing problem was the lack of sufficient income to pay the price of a decent home. This fact brought the passage of the National Housing Act of 1934. It was the purpose of this act to encourage credit for home financing through the creation of the Federal Housing Administration (FHA).

The New Deal launched a program aimed at the improvement

of housing. The Housing Act of 1937 helped with mortgages for those able to afford to buy housing. It established the public housing programs, the principle of local housing authorities, rents based upon the family's ability to pay and procedures of slum clearance. This was the first significant legislation which concerned itself with the problem of housing the poor.

World War II all but stopped legislation which would help in the renewal of cities and the elimination of slums, although the Lanham Act in 1940 did authorize funds for the housing of defense workers. In 1942, the National Housing Act and the Lanham Act were amended to provide for better housing for defense workers.

In 1949, "a decent home in a suitable living environment for every American family," became a national policy. As one housing expert noted,

The Housing Act of 1949 contained more specific provisions bearing on the possible use of public housing as a concentrated measure. In the legislation Congress declared that sufficient housing production "is necessary to enable the housing industry to make its full contribution toward an economy of maximum employment, production, and purchasing power."<sup>1</sup>

During the discussion of the bill on the floor of Congress the phrase "urban renewal" was coined.

In 1954, the Housing Act of 1954 was passed which expanded the program of urban renewal. Slum clearance and redevelopment no longer held exclusive position as the tools of urban renewal. The programs of conservation and rehabilitation were developed. This act also contained a provision which placed the responsibility of having an overall plan of action for the elimination

and prevention of slums and blight upon the local government. With the Housing Act of 1954, urban renewal became a full-fledged institution and with it came the problems of institutionalization. The local urban renewal program is "a complex of agreements among groups that must go on over several years if the program is to have any results."<sup>2</sup>

The Housing Act of 1961 augmented the program of urban renewal. This act allowed more nonresidential redevelopment and allowed for more capital improvements in the city's share of contributions. And thus, urban renewal was extended to include the total community as its scope of redevelopment. Six years later, in 1967, the Demonstration Cities Act expanded the federal contributions to 90 per cent if the local community is willing to commit itself to tackle the entire scope of urban problems including poverty, crime, and education as well as housing and redevelopment.

#### Purpose, Elements, and Requirements

The purpose of urban renewal is, as defined by the Department of Housing and Urban Development,

To assist cities undertaking local programs for the elimination and prevention of slums and blight, whether residential or non-residential, and the elimination of factors that create slums and blight. Urban renewal is a long-range effort to achieve better communities through planned redevelopment of deteriorated and deteriorating areas by means of a partnership among local governments, private enterprise, citizens, and the Federal Government.<sup>3</sup>

Since the Federal Government is giving financial assistance to the local community, it places certain requirements on the community to insure a comprehensive approach to the solutions



of urban problems. These requirements are in the form of the "workable program for community improvement." The seven parts of the workable program are as follows:

1. Codes and ordinances. This is a provision to insure adequate local legislation and enforcement to insure minimum standards, in construction, for health, safety and sanitation. This includes building, plumbing, electrical, housing and fire prevention codes for existing and future structures.
2. Comprehensive planning. The formation of a comprehensive plan is the development of the whole program. This must include a land use plan, thoroughfare plan, zoning ordinance, subdivision regulations, and capital improvement program.
3. Neighborhood analysis. The problems, resources and environment of each area of the community must be examined. This will identify the major causes of blight and the steps required to prevent and eliminate these problems.
4. Administrative organization. The community must set up the lines of authority for the implementation of the workable programs and responsibilities for the enforcement of codes and ordinances.
5. Financing. Financing means a plan for paying the city's share of the cost of the workable program, then budgeting these funds.
6. Housing of displaced persons. A plan must be formulated to find comparable housing at comparable prices

for those families which lose their homes through governmental action.

7. Citizen participation. The final portion of the workable program is the backbone of the whole program. Unless the whole community is involved in the solving of urban problems, the program may not gain the support needed to make it successful. Citizen participation must allow all groups and individuals access to decision makers.

Although the workable program has prevented many of the problems of urban renewal, others still exist. Whenever a person's property is taken against his will or he is forced to move, some ill-feelings are bound to arise. Even if a person is given "due process of law" and "just compensation" they do not compensate for the lost friends, business contacts and the disorientation which follows. These are the seeds of opposition.

#### Basis for Urban Renewal Controversy

The controversy of urban renewal may take many forms. One of these is opposition to the concept of federally assisted urban renewal. This may take the form of arguments on the constitutionality. This issue is based on interpretation of "public purpose" as a "public use," or as Martin Anderson states it, ". . . the issue (is) whether or not any government agency in the United States should have the right to take private property by eminent domain for private use."<sup>4</sup>

Mr. Anderson discusses the definitions of the words "use" and "purpose," as given by the American College Dictionary. The

legal definition of "use" is "the employment of property, as by the employment, occupation, or exercise of it." "Purpose" is "the object for which anything exists or is done, made, used, etc."<sup>5</sup> This therefore shows, according to Anderson, that public purpose clearly is not public use for use refers to the actual employment of material objects, and, purpose refers to the goal for which any object is used.

In 1954, the United States Supreme Court decided this question of constitutionality in the case of Berman vs. Parker, 348 U. S. 26 (1954). Whether one agrees or disagrees with this court decision is no longer of legal importance, all forms of judicial review have been exhausted. The only avenues of opposition left open to those opposed to the concept is the repeal of legislation or the amending of the U. S. Constitution, although legislation since 1954 has expanded and revised the concept of urban renewal through additions and changes in programs or through the challenge of due process in specific cases.

Opposition to urban renewal may take forms other than attacking the constitutionality of the law. Many persons object to the outcome of urban renewal projects. One objection is the length of time required to carry a project from conception through completion. The average gestation time for projects is 11.9 years (see Table 2.1). This seems to connote that 11.9 years the community will lose tax revenues from the property within the project area. Yet a project may be 99 per cent complete and still be carried on the books for years as unfinished all the while bringing in tax revenues and producing income.

Another problem of urban renewal which gains much attention whenever discussions on the failures of urban renewal begin is relocation. "I have no place to go. I've lived here all my life. What will I do?" This is the cry of many residents of a project area. It summarizes the plight of the working class. Their orientations are particularistic not universalistic. As Jane Jacobs sees relocation, "At best it merely shifts slums from here to there, adding its own tincture of hardships and disruption."<sup>6</sup> Even in the mythical "disorganized" slum residents have some ties to their "sub-community." Along with this is the citizen who is not interested in the plight of the poor or the blight of his community. He is satisfied with the status quo and wants no part of higher taxes.

The differences between the world of the slum dweller and the middle class world of the renewal official is a major source of conflict. From the latter's point of view it is necessary that displaced families "understand and accept the goals of the total community, and for them to see renewal as an opportunity for a better life rather than an oppressant." But this kind of understanding is extremely difficult for the working class individual accustomed to more concrete and less abstract modes of thought and perception. What follows from the long-range perspective of officialdom can only be apprehended in the working class as a confirmation of the initial assumption that the world of politics and government is stacked against them.<sup>7</sup>

The racial situation adds another dimension to the

problem of relocation. With the discrimination he has already experienced the Negro cannot help but misunderstand the concepts of urban renewal. He sees renewal as forcing him to move because he is a Negro. It, therefore, is not surprising that he sees it as "Negro removal." The Negro is further alienated toward urban renewal by the difficulty which he has in finding suitable housing. He is not allowed to be assimilated into the white suburbs.

These fears have been used by some to help the Negro with his problems. Saul Alinsky is one such man.

Alinsky eschews the usual appeals of home owners' interests in conserving property values to a general neighborhood spirit or civic pride that, in his view applies only to middle-class neighborhoods. He, instead, appeals to the self-interests of local residents and to their resentment and distrust of the outside world. Alinsky is perfectly willing to capitalize on the fact that collective action among such people is possible only when each person fears some threats to his own interests.

By stimulating and focusing such fears, an organization is created which can then compel other organizations such as the sponsors of an urban renewal project to bargain with it. Often the only terms on which such negotiations are acceptable to the neighborhood organization are terms unacceptable to the sponsors of renewal, for they require drastic modifications or even abandonment of the renewal plan. When an organization is built out of accumulated fears rather than out of community attachments, the cost is usually the tearing up of any plans that call for really fundamental changes in landscape. On the other hand, such an organization may be very effective in winning special concessions from city hall to remedy specific neighborhood problems.<sup>8</sup>

Although this procedure is unorthodox one must admit that it can be effective in gaining certain ends.

Another area of the sub-community which is hurt by relocation is the small businessman in the project area. The

small business near a blighted area is usually a marginal profit business. It serves a small personal group of clients. The owner's success is based on his personal knowledge and friendship with these clients. As stated by Basil Zinner, "The type of businesses least likely to survive displacement are those businesses that had a close and frequent relationship with their customers."<sup>9</sup> Of the businesses studied by Mr. Zinner, 40 per cent discontinued business. Therefore, much resentment can be initiated in this manner.

#### Individual and Group Interests

The goal orientation of individuals or groups has much to do with the reasons for controversy. As mentioned earlier, in the discussion of relocation, the universal vs. particular orientation of the classes causes many of the conflicts. This difference is discussed by Robert Merton.<sup>10</sup> He classifies persons and groups as local (particularistic) or cosmopolitan (universalistic).

The "local" is concerned with his own community or interests. He cares little for the world outside. His orientation is only for those things which directly concern him. Therefore the "local" cannot be concerned in urban renewal. He only sees the relocation, time, cost, etc., rather than the improvement on the city as a whole. In contrast, the "cosmopolitan" is a citizen of the world, who happens to live in this locale at this time. He is concerned, therefore, with all that might improve the situation in the world. The local-cosmopolitan theory is not one of simple categories. It is a continuum with the local on one end and the



cosmopolitan on the other. Few people can be classed as either, as most of them fall somewhere inbetween.

The local-cosmopolitan idea closely parallels the jobs of government discussed by Adrian and Williams.<sup>11</sup> They divide the typology of civic policies into four categories, (1) promoting economic growth, or booster, (2) providing life's amenities, (3) maintenance of traditional services, and (4) arbitration among conflicting interests.

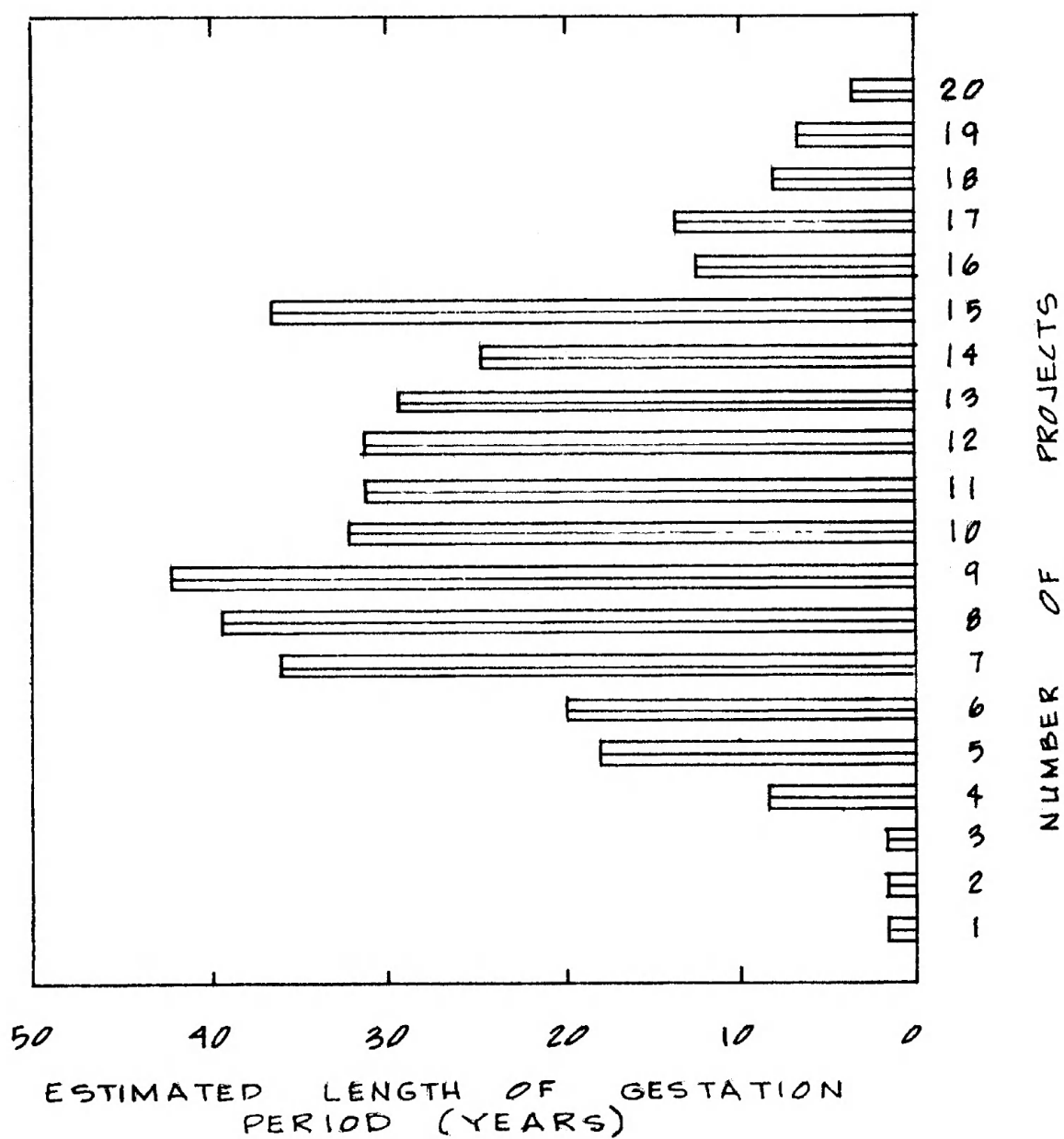
Those who believe that government should promote the economic growth of the community are usually the local business interests. These persons would be in favor of urban renewal only if it might help their business. Providing life's amenities, as a job of government, would be professed by service groups, the service professions and persons "who want to make the city pleasant for raising families." They would be in favor of urban renewal for its elimination of blight. Persons on fixed income or marginal incomes would most likely hold the view of government which maintains the traditional services. They will want no more taxes than they presently have. They are very likely to be residents of a project area, and therefore, likely to oppose urban renewal because they will have trouble relocating in housing of equal value and equal costs. The first of the four categories is usually those members of minority groups which are unable to raise a majority to pursue their special interests. Those groups would band together and form those who feel that government should arbitrate conflicting special interests. This group might oppose urban renewal if it is against their special interests.

The controversy which surrounds urban renewal has its basis in the interests, understanding and fears of individuals and groups of individuals. These factors are shaped by the backgrounds of the individuals involved, such as their mobility, income, and experiences.



FIGURE 2.1

DISTRIBUTION OF ADJUSTED ESTIMATES OF GESTATION  
TIME FOR URBAN RENEWAL PROJECTS -- 1961



## FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER II

1. Jewel Bellush and Murray Haushnecht, Urban Renewal: People, Politics and Planning, (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., 1967), p. 12.
2. Scott Greer, Urban Renewal and American Cities, (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1965), p.11.
3. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Programs of HUD, (Washington, D. C., 1967), p. 12.
4. Martin Anderson, "The Sophistry That Made Urban Renewal Possible," Urban Renewal: People, Politics and Planning, (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., 1967), p. 53.
5. If Mr. Anderson had read further he might have found that the second legal definition explains that use also means "behalf; advantage; benefit." Benefit is defined as "whatever promotes the welfare." The Constitution states that Congress may pass laws to "promote. . .the general welfare."
6. Jane Jacobs, The Death and Life of Great American Cities, (New York: Randon House, Inc., 1961), p. 270.
7. Bellush, op. cit., p. 371.
8. James Q. Wilson, "Planning and Politics: Citizen Participation in Urban Renewal," Journal of American Institute of Planners, Vol. 29, No. 4, (November, 1963).
9. Basil Zinner, "The Small Businessman and Relocation," Urban Renewal: The Record and the Controversy, (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1967), p. 382.
10. Robert Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, (Rev. ed., Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957), Chapter X.
11. Charles R. Adrian and Oliver Williams, Four Cities, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963).

### CHAPTER III

#### GENERAL COMPARISON OF URBAN RENEWAL STUDIES

Since its beginnings, urban renewal has been the subject of much research by all disciplines concerned with the urban environment. Much of this research has been in the form of case studies, of major metropolitan areas such as Chicago, Newark, New Haven, and Minneapolis-St. Paul. Not all of these case studies were studies of urban renewal only (i. e., New Haven: power structure) or of urban renewal specifically (i. e., Minneapolis-St. Paul: downtown redevelopment). The following chapter will compare some of the major case studies on urban renewal.

#### Newark

The study of Newark was by Harold Kaplan,<sup>1</sup> Associate Professor of Political Science at York University. The study originally appeared in 1961 as his Columbia University Ph.D. dissertation. His focus is on the political process involved in urban renewal.

Mr. Kaplan's chapter entitled "The Grass Roots," gives a good insight into the opposition which grows from the individuals in the neighborhood contained in project areas, surrounding project areas, and absorbing project areas. From the studies of the projects in Newark, it was discovered that the intense opposition by project residents is not a feature of the hard core slum, but of those areas surrounding the slums.

Other characteristics of opposition areas were found to be as follows:

Organized opposition is more likely to appear in areas with a high percentage of home ownership, a predominance of one or two family houses, and a relatively stable population. It is less likely to appear in areas with a high degree of transiency and absentee ownership and a large number of tenements and rooming houses. While the former type of area tends to be a relatively integrated sub-community with traditions of its own, the slums tend to be incapable of organized neighborhood opposition. The absentee landlords of such slum areas, moreover, are too politically vulnerable to press their opposition to clearance.<sup>2</sup>

Their lone case of overt opposition in Newark was found to be far from spontaneous. It was brought about by those who hoped to gain political influence by such opposition.

Mr. Kaplan goes on to state that citizen participation is not an indispensable part of urban renewal success. Although active support is important to the rehabilitation phases of urban renewal only acquiescence is required for clearance.

#### New Haven

Robert Dahl devotes one chapter of his book, Who Governs?<sup>3</sup> to a study of the leaders of urban redevelopment. His book is a study of the "power structure" of New Haven. Dahl like Kaplan is a political scientist.

In 1953, the Chamber of Commerce studied the programs of urban renewal and redevelopment which had been proposed since 1943. These proposals had made no headway because they were expensive, they did not provide for the political process, and no political official saw the chance for political gain by supporting renewal.

All this changed with the election of Democratic Mayor

Richard Lee. Lee used his political skill to make better redevelopment a political issue, and was overwhelmingly elected. Through his term of office New Haven spent more money per capita on redevelopment planning than any of the nation's largest cities.

Dahl does not discuss opposition, but rather the lack of it. He states, "Except for a few trivial instances, the 'muscles' (of the Citizens Action Committees) never directly initiated, opposed, vetoed or altered any proposal by the Mayor and his Development Administrator."<sup>4</sup> Yet the importance of the CAC for assuring the acceptance of urban renewal was important. The existence of the CAC kept the issue of renewal from becoming an issue between elections by seeming to be non-partisan.

Dahl sums up this discussion thusly: "In effect the role of the electorate was not to demand redevelopment, to initiate it, or directly to influence concrete decisions, but at two-year intervals to vote for or against a leader identified with redevelopment and so express what would be interpreted as support for or disapproval of the program."<sup>5</sup>

#### The San Francisco Bay Area

Although not a case study per se The New Renewal,<sup>6</sup> edited by George Duggar, a political economist and urban affairs specialist, gives some insight into the reasons for opposition to urban renewal. This book is the proceedings of a civic seminar: "The Next Big Tasks in Urban Renewal," sponsored by the University of California, Berkeley. It brought together a major portion of the civic and business leaders, as well as planning practitioners

of the San Francisco Bay Area, together to discuss the problems in urban renewal.

In this seminar they brought out many of the failures of urban renewal which might precipitate opposition. One such failure seems to be most important. "Citizen Participation" has become a committee appointed by formula to advise the renewal officials yet not responsible to popular vote. The public hearing process assumes that the people will speak up, so that points may be argued and thus bring about a compromise plan. Instead these arguments remain hidden and later surface to contribute to failure of urban renewal at a later date.

#### Boston

Walter McQuade, Associate Editor of Fortune Magazine, discussed "Urban Renewal in Boston" in Urban Renewal: The Record and the Controversy.<sup>7</sup> His discussion elaborates more on the successes of urban renewal rather than its opposition and failures.

Like New Haven much of Boston's success is based on the wholehearted support of successful political officials. This included the mayor and redevelopment directors.

One of the major problems with renewal as in the use of rehabilitation as a tool. This technique, although it eliminates the problems of condemnation, is achingly slow and undramatic. Most of the improvements go on indoors and do not inspire the neighbors. Many people refuse to rehabilitate thus bringing on condemnation and its problems.

Another major obstacle of renewal was opposition to certain redevelopment plans which blocked streets and/or tore down old land mark buildings.

#### Minneapolis-St. Paul

The process of planning was analyzed by Alan Altshuler in his book, The City Planning Process.<sup>8</sup> In his analysis Altshuler, a political scientist, discussed the plan for central Minneapolis. This plan entailed some redevelopment. Some of the reasons for opposition were discussed in this study of the planning process.

One of the first sources of opposition came immediately after the passage of the Housing Act of 1949. Many of the businessmen considered the concept of redevelopment "socialistic," and many local political officials felt the subject was too controversial to touch. For this reason Minneapolis had no renewal for more than a dozen years.

When the idea of redevelopment was finally brought forward, the planners used a "Madison Avenue" approach for the presentation of the plan. The consultants were thought of as experts, they therefore bypassed much opposition.

One stumbling block occurred. Many of the city councilmen felt that they were bypassed in the discussion of the plan. It was felt that the planners were out of line. They thought that they were ivory tower planners. The council and mayor therefore took a hands-off policy of neither agreeing or disagreeing with the plan. The planners were forced to revise



the plan, although most of the original plan was accomplished through a piece-meal approach.

### Chicago

The Chicago case study was in the form of an excellent book, The Politics of Urban Renewal,<sup>9</sup> by Peter Rossi and Robert Dentler. This book devotes three chapters to a discussion and analysis of opposition. Rossi and Dentler, like Kaplan, are political scientists examining the political process.

The renewal projects discussed by the authors were near the University of Chicago. Because of the activities of university personnel in the planning phases of the project, many of the residents raised opposition. This was due to an inherent fear of the university.

A home owners association also lent its voice to opposition. Their opposition touched on three major themes "(1) too much housing suitable for rehabilitation was being demolished in view of the severe housing shortage in Chicago, (2) the plans for the redevelopment of the cleared area would price them out of the neighborhood, and (3) the clearance threatened a Buddhist Church."<sup>10</sup>

One major lesson was learned from the opposition in Chicago. Opposition will have a better chance of affecting the outcome of planning if it is voiced before the plan nears completion.

### Evaluation

Each of the preceeding studies implied different situations or characteristics which were the basis for controversy. Kaplan



mentions home ownership and absentee ownership. Home ownership is discussed as a basis for opposition while absentee ownership is a deterrant to opposition. Rossi and Dentler mention a fear, by lower income families, of being priced out of housing. Other characteristics or situations which were mentioned were a fear of the "socialistic" nature of urban renewal (Altshuler), a misunderstanding of the policies and politics of urban renewal (both Dahl and Duggar), and undramatic nature of rehabilitation (McQuade). A similarity of these case studies is that they are all studies of major cities. They are each descriptive of one particular city. There is little or no comparison between cities.

#### FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER III

1. Harold Kaplan, Urban Renewal Politics, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963).
2. Ibid., p. 136
3. Robert Dahl, Who Governs?, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966).
4. Ibid., p. 131.
5. Ibid., p. 140
6. George Duggar, Ed., The New Renewal, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961).
7. Walter McQuade, "Urban Renewal in Boston," Urban Renewal: The Record and the Controversy, (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1967).
8. Alan Altshuler, The City Planning Process, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1965).

9. Peter Rossi and Robert Dentler, The Politics of Urban Renewal, (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961).
10. Ibid., p. 222.

## CHAPTER IV

### SPECIFIC COMPARISON OF SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS

#### Explanation of Research Method

From the review of literature in the preceeding two chapters, it would seem that certain sociological, demographical, geographical, economical, and ideological situations play an important role to produce a situation which might precipitate controversy and opposition. The authors which were cited discussed home ownership, fear of being priced out of housing, fear of the "socialistic" nature of urban renewal, misunderstanding of urban renewal policies, the undramatic nature of rehabilitation and the natural fears of minority groups. If these situations could be measured then the probability of urban renewal being accepted or rejected in a community might also be measured.

To measure these situations certain characteristics of communities were used which were believed to be predictors of the above situations. The extent of minority fears should be indicated by the percentage of non-white population in a community. Home ownership should be indicated by the prosperity of a community and therefore predicated by median family income. The number of members of a community with incomes below \$3,000 per year would indicate the majority of those who fear being priced out of housing. The ideological beliefs of the community should show also its fears of "socialistic" urban renewal. This could be measured by analyzing the national election results of the community. A nearby metropolitan area with a successful

urban renewal program should combat the drabness of rehabilitation. And finally, a high median education level should do much to help the understanding of urban renewal.

Each of these characteristics (per cent non-white, per cent below \$3,000 income, voting in national elections, distance from SMSA with a successful urban renewal program, and median education level) were compared for 117 communities in the south central United States. The states in Region V of the Department of Housing and Urban Development which had communities accepting and communities rejecting urban renewal were used for the study. This included Kansas, Missouri, Oklahoma, Texas, and Arkansas. Louisiana, New Mexico, and Colorado were deleted because of their lack of extensive urban renewal programs. All of these characteristics except voting and distance were taken from the 1960 U. S. Census. For this reason communities of less than 2,500 were eliminated from the study. The distances were taken from the Rand McNally Road Atlas (1967). Voting was found in the book How America Votes, which gave statistics by county.

Of the five states studied only one, Texas, requires a referendum for urban renewal for all cities. Only Fort Worth has rejected urban renewal and later accepted a project. The state of Oklahoma requires a vote for communities under 10,000 population. Sand Springs, like Fort Worth, had an unfavorable vote at one time, but the question was resubmitted and passed. Sapulpa and Talequah voted favorably on urban renewal, but failed to pass bond issues necessary to finance the local share. Missouri required a referendum if the community is less than 75,000 people.

Kansas and Arkansas do not require a vote of the electorate for urban renewal. Arkansas has had three communities which voted against urban renewal in their city council (one of which was a community of less than 2,500). Three communities have taken votes to indicate public reaction for the city commission. Of these, two (Russelville and Brinkley) have later endorsed urban renewal. The state of Kansas is unique in that, although it does not require a vote on urban renewal, at least three communities took the initiative to petition the city fathers to hold a referendum in 1965 and 1966. In each of these communities the vote was unfavorable.

#### Results of Comparison

Per cent non-white. This situation was divided into five categories which were 0 to 4.9 per cent, 5 to 9.9 per cent, 10 to 19.9 per cent, and 30 per cent plus. In this situation as the per cent of non-white citizens increased the per cent of communities rejecting and accepting urban renewal decreased, but not at the same rate. The per cent accepting urban renewal decreased at a much faster rate (from 54 per cent in the 4.9 per cent category to 6 per cent in the 30 per cent plus category). It would therefore seem that a small percentage of non-white citizens would give a better atmosphere for urban renewal. This situation should then be studied further with a larger sample or possibly using matched pairs of cities with the per cent of non-white as the only major variable.

TABLE 4.1

PER CENT NON-WHITE IN COMMUNITIES REJECTING  
AND ACCEPTING URBAN RENEWAL

Non-white	Rejected No.		Accepted No.	
0 - 4.9%	13	39.4	45	54.0
5 - 9.9%	9	27.3	16	18.0
10 - 19.9%	7	21.3	11	13.2
20 - 29.9%	2	6.0	7	8.4
30% +	2	6.0	5	6.0
Total	33	100.0	84	100.0

This table compares the number rejecting or accepting urban renewal in each category to the total number rejecting or accepting urban renewal.

Per cent below \$3,000. The per cent of the families with incomes below \$3,000 per year was studied. This situation was divided into categories by 10 per cent increments from 0 to 30 per cent plus. The trends within this situation followed closely those in the per cent non-white situation. Although the per cent of communities both rejecting and accepting urban renewal increased as the per cent below \$3,000 increased, those accepting had a greater per cent than those rejecting in the 0 to 20 per cent categories. This would then identify a trend for further study.

TABLE 4.2

PER CENT BELOW \$3,000 INCOME IN COMMUNITIES  
REJECTING AND ACCEPTING URBAN RENEWAL

Below \$3,000	Rejected No.	Accepted No.
0 - 9.9%	1 3.0	6 7.2
10 - 19.9%	6 18.2	22 24.0
20 - 29.9%	12 36.4	22 24.0
30% +	14 42.4	34 38.4
Total	<u>33</u> 100.0	<u>84</u> 100.0

This table compares the number rejecting or accepting urban renewal in each category to the total number rejecting or accepting urban renewal.

Elections. The conservative or liberal political beliefs of the community should also indicate rejection or acceptance of urban renewal respectively, since many ultra-conservative organizations oppose urban renewal because of its "socialistic" nature. The voting behavior of the communities in the last two presidential elections should therefore give a good indication of the ideologies of the communities. A Republican majority in 1960 and 1964 would indicate a conservative community. A split majority in 1960 and 1964 would indicate a moderate community. A Democratic majority in both 1960 and 1964 would indicate a liberal community.

This study would have shown a more significant trend if there had been a recent election in which two liberal candidates opposed each other. The information did show that the more conservative communities rejected urban renewal at a higher rate than did the more liberal communities.

TABLE 4.3

NATIONAL ELECTION RESULTS OF COMMUNITIES  
REJECTING AND ACCEPTING URBAN RENEWAL

Elections	Rejected No. %		Accepted No. %	
Democratic	15	45.5	51	61.2
Split	15	45.5	29	34.8
Republican	3	9.0	4	4.8
Total	33	100.0	84	100.0

This table compares the number rejecting or accepting urban renewal in each category to the total number rejecting or accepting urban renewal.

Distance from SMSA w/UR. The category of communities rejecting urban renewal within a nine mile radius of an SMSA with successful urban renewal about 15 per cent, while the per cent within a radius of more than 100 miles raised more than ten per cent. Although this was not a trend it would seem a significant enough change to call for further investigation.

TABLE 4.4

DISTANCE OF COMMUNITIES REJECTING AND ACCEPTING URBAN RENEWAL  
FROM AN SMSA WITH A SUCCESSFUL URBAN RENEWAL PROJECT

SMSA w/UR	Rejected No. %		Accepted No. %	
0 - 9 miles	6	18.2	32	38.4
10 - 49 miles	10	30.3	17	19.2
50 - 99 miles	10	30.3	21	22.8
100 miles +	7	21.1	14	15.6
Total	33	100.0	84	100.0

This table compares the number rejecting or accepting urban renewal in each category to the total number rejecting or accepting urban renewal.



Median level of education. Of the communities studied a trend can be shown in those accepting urban renewal but not in those rejecting urban renewal. The per cent of communities accepting urban renewal increased as the median educational increased. At the same time the per cent of communities rejecting urban renewal did not follow any trend at all. The existence of a trend in part of this situation warrents further study.

TABLE 4.5

MEDIAN EDUCATION LEVEL OF COMMUNITIES REJECTING  
AND ACCEPTING URBAN RENEWAL

Education	Rejected No. %		Accepted No. %	
0 - 8 years	2	6.0	5	6.0
8 - 9.0 years	6	18.2	13	14.4
9.1 - 10.0 years	3	9.0	13	14.4
10.1 - 11 years	12	36.4	21	22.8
11.1 years +	10	30.3	32	38.4
Total	33	100.0	84	100.0

This table compares the number rejecting or accepting urban renewal in each category to the total number rejecting or accepting urban renewal.

Median family income. The median family income of the communities studied ranged from below \$2,200 in southern Texas to \$10,000 in the suburbs of St. Louis. This situation was divided into six categories which ranged from below \$3,500 to above \$5,500 by \$500 increments. No trends appeared in this comparison which would indicate any relationship to urban renewal acceptance or rejection.

TABLE 4.6

MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME OF COMMUNITIES ACCEPTING  
AND REJECTING URBAN RENEWAL

Median Family Income	Rejected No. %	Accepted No. %
0 - \$3,499	6 18.2	14 15.6
\$3,500 - \$3,999	4 12.1	11 13.2
\$4,000 - \$4,499	7 21.1	10 12.0
\$4,500 - \$4,999	3 9.0	10 12.0
\$5,000 - \$5,499	8 24.2	15 16.8
\$5,000 +	5 15.2	24 25.2
Total	<u>33</u> 100.0	<u>84</u> 100.0

This table compares the number rejecting or accepting urban renewal in each category to the total number rejecting or accepting urban renewal.

#### Evaluation

This study compared the trends for six characteristics, per cent non-white, per cent with income below \$3,000, national elections, distance from an SMSA with a successful urban renewal program, median level of education, and median family income. The objective of this comparison was not to find a statistical correlation between opposition and the functions mentioned above. Rather it is to investigate date relationships which might prove significant for later statistical research.

All of the characteristics which were studied, with the exception of median family income, indicate a relationship between the rejection and acceptance of urban renewal and the situations discussed earlier. The exception of median family income, rather than disproving the relationship between home ownership and opposition, may indicate that there is little relationship between median family income and home ownership.

## CHAPTER V

JUNCTION CITY, KANSAS: A CASE STUDY  
OF URBAN RENEWAL CONTROVERSY

## Background

Junction City was chosen because it was a convenient community accessible to the author, which fit the trends discussed in the preceeding chapter. The information for this chapter was obtained by participant observation in the urban renewal referendum. This included attending meetings and forums on urban renewal and unstructured interviews with community leaders, who were both for and against urban renewal. Other background information was obtained from the newspaper and from the minutes of the local citizens advisory committee.

Junction City is a community of over 20,000 which lies at the junction of the Republican and Smoky Hill Rivers, near Fort Riley. Since the closing of the Union Pacific Round House in 1961, Junction City has become much more dependent on the trade of the service men of Fort Riley and the federal money spent in the area for its livelihood.

Yet on November 8, 1966, the electorate of Junction City, Kansas, passed the following ordinance:

BE IT ORDAINED BY THE GOVERNING BODY OF THE CITY OF JUNCTION CITY, KANSAS: That no powers heretofore or hereafter conferred upon the governing body of the City of Junction City, Kansas, under the provisions of Chapter 17 of Kansas Statutes Annotated shall be exercised for the implementation of Title III of Public Law 89-117 (so-called Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965).

In effect, this ordinance forbids the city commission

from accepting any money from the federal government for urban renewal. According to KSA 12-3013 this ordinance became a valid and binding ordinance. This ordinance, proposed by petition, cannot be repealed or ammended except by a vote of the electors, provided, that after ten years from the date of the election the governing body may repeal or amend such an ordinance. This chapter will discuss the issues and how they developed.

### Issues

The basic issue was, of course, urban renewal and whether or not Junction City should become involved in the federal programs. Other issues which were related to the major one appeared. Many of the residents of the project area were home owners which were retired. These persons feared that their homes would be condemned and that they would not be able to buy a new one. Other citizens felt that urban renewal would relocate minority groups in their neighborhood and some minority groups felt that their rented homes would be destroyed and they would not be able to find other housing. In short, relocation and misunderstanding were the basic sub-issues.

### Groups Involved

Only four formal groups became involved in the issue. These groups were the Chamber of Commerce, the Geary County Bar Association, the Geary County Realtors Association, and the Junior Chamber of Commerce. All of these groups supported urban renewal. Only the Jaycees actively campaigned.

As an organization in the referendum, the Jaycees

undertook the defeat of the proposed ordinance as a community service project. No formal group openly supported the ordinance, but informal neighborhood groups banded together to eliminate urban renewal through the referendum.

### Events

The Urban Renewal Agency (URA) of Junction City was appointed on October 5, 1965, by the city commission. Its members were Eldon Hoyle, a local realtor; Homer Williams, a local architect; John Grentner, the local postmaster; C. V. Minnick, a local physician; and Ralph Stark, co-owner of the local bus company. Shortly thereafter the URA began investigating firms to assist in the preparation of the "Workable Program," and to perform a preliminary study of the feasibility of UR for Junction City. The firm of Bucher and Willis of Salina was chosen. Their first activity was a windshield survey of blight which brought about much discussion at a public forum and at city commission meetings.

The Citizens Advisory Committee (CAC) was formed on January 11, 1966. The purpose of the committee was explained by A. L. Moore of Housing and Home Finance Agency (HHFA). "Mr. Moore explained that the group will act in the capacity of advising and recommending to the City Commission. He further stated that the Advisory Committee would also act as a sounding board."<sup>1</sup> The first recommendation made by the CAC to the City Commission was for a public forum on Urban Renewal, (March 28, 1966).

The suggested forum was scheduled for April 29, 1966.

Before the forum was held, the controversy began to develop. A delegation of citizens from the northeast section of the city attended the city commission meeting on April 12, 1966. Their "interest" was stimulated by a progress report given to the CAC by Mr. Alvin Hamale, of Bucher and Willis, on the progress of urban renewal. The delegation spokesman questioned the commission on urban renewal. The delegation's spokesman, Mrs. Merrill Hanson, questioned the make-up of the CAC stating that only two members of the CAC were from the northeast portion of the city. Other statements which were made gave the impression that many members of the delegation had misunderstandings about urban renewal and felt that programs were being railroaded through.

The controversy reached a high point at the public forum. The panel which spoke at the forum were Mayor Harold O. Wilson; Industrial Development Director, William Docking; Chairman of the URA, Ralph Sparks; Al Hamale of Bucher and Willis; Don Coates, Chairman of the CAC and John Harbes, former Junction Citian and director of the Urban Renewal Agency of Topeka. They explained the present state of urban renewal in Junction City. This explanation included the proposal of the first project, which was to be an 87-acre industrial park in the northeast section of the city. The questions which followed were related to those brought up earlier by Mrs. Hanson. (For complete listing of questions see appendix A-2.)

At the next commission meeting on May 3, Mrs. Hanson was on hand to present the commission an informal petition protesting the adoption of urban renewal in Junction City. After

discussion the commission tabled the city's application for federal funds. With this petition the opponents of urban renewal gained enough time to ultimately file a formal petition to bring the proposal of urban renewal to a vote.

After a delay of nearly 60 days, the CAC requested that the city commission bring the application for funds off the table. This was done at the next commission meeting, but the application was retabled later on in the meeting. The question of urban renewal was discussed at each commission meeting throughout the summer, until September 21, 1966, when a formal petition was filed with the city clerk's office to have the question of urban renewal placed on the general election ballot on November 8. At the next commission meeting on September 28 the question was placed on the ballot.

The supporters of urban renewal had only 38 days to actively organize, campaign, and to specifically defeat the referendum. Four groups in the community carried most of the load. The Junior Chamber of Commerce adopted the defeat of the proposed ordinance as a service project for the community. They were later joined by the Chamber of Commerce (which passed a resolution opposing the ordinance with only one dissenting vote), the Junction City Board of Realtors, and the Geary County Bar Association. These four groups had little time to work for the defeat of the ordinance. They were working with an added disadvantage, that being if one favored urban renewal he would be required to vote NO on the ballot.

To eliminate this confusion and to bring the question



into public debate, a public forum was held, on October 27, 1966. The members of the panel which discussed the issues were Gerald Ervin, Junction City architect and Rev. Ronald Holland (against the ordinance), Merrill Wertz, Junction City banker and Dr. Calvin Openshaw, Hutchinson, Kansas, physician and surgeon (for the ordinance). The forum was attended by 400 to 500 citizens most of whom supported the ordinance.

Ten days later the election was held. The ordinance was passed by a vote of 2041 to 1897, a margin of 144 votes.

#### Analysis

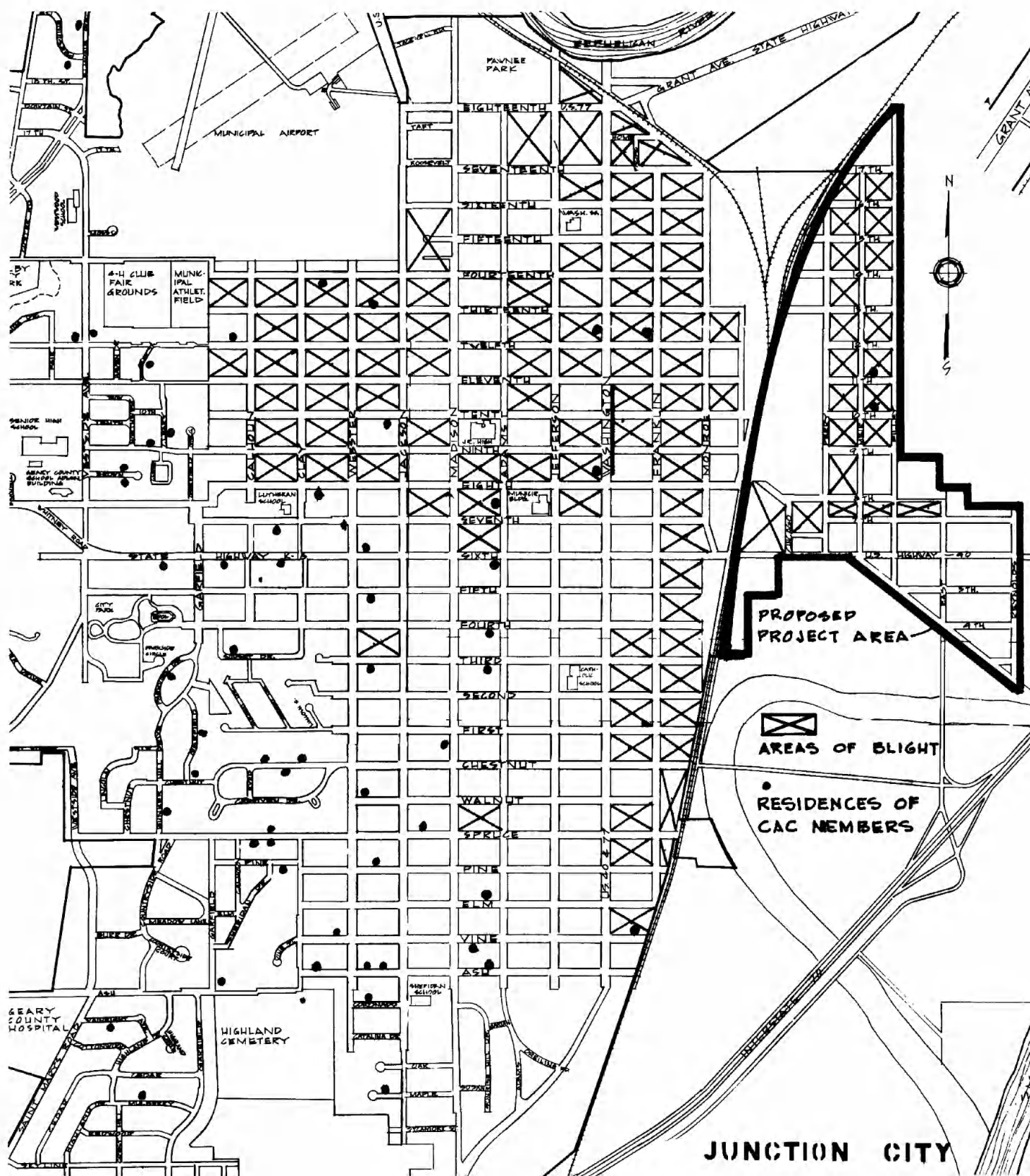
The opposition to urban renewal, while not seeming to be well organized, was very well advised and well informed. The ordinance was placed on the ballot only 38 days before the election. This gave the supporters of urban renewal little time to prepare their campaign.

"Local-caretaker" goal orientation made up a major portion of the opposition to urban renewal. They opposed the concept of federal "controls" in urban renewal. They were joined by persons who voted not on political goals, but who feared urban renewal. Since their block was included on the survey of blight, they felt that their home would be "bulldozed" at a later date.

The opposition also was helped by a split which had arisen earlier between factions of the booster group. One faction recognized the economic dependence of Junction City on the nearby Fort Riley and therefore wanted to capitalize on it. The other faction also recognized this dependence but instead wanted to



FIGURE 5.1



bring industry into the community so that this dependence would no longer be dominant. This did not directly help opposition, but some votes were cast in opposition to personalities. This could easily be seen by the nickname "Ervin Renewal," which was given to urban renewal because of the involvement of Edgar and Gerald Ervin, their associates and friends in the activities in favor of urban renewal. This fact came out into the open a few months later in the election of the city commission. Edgar Ervin who was the only commissioner who gave his wholehearted support to urban renewal lost his seat on the city commission.

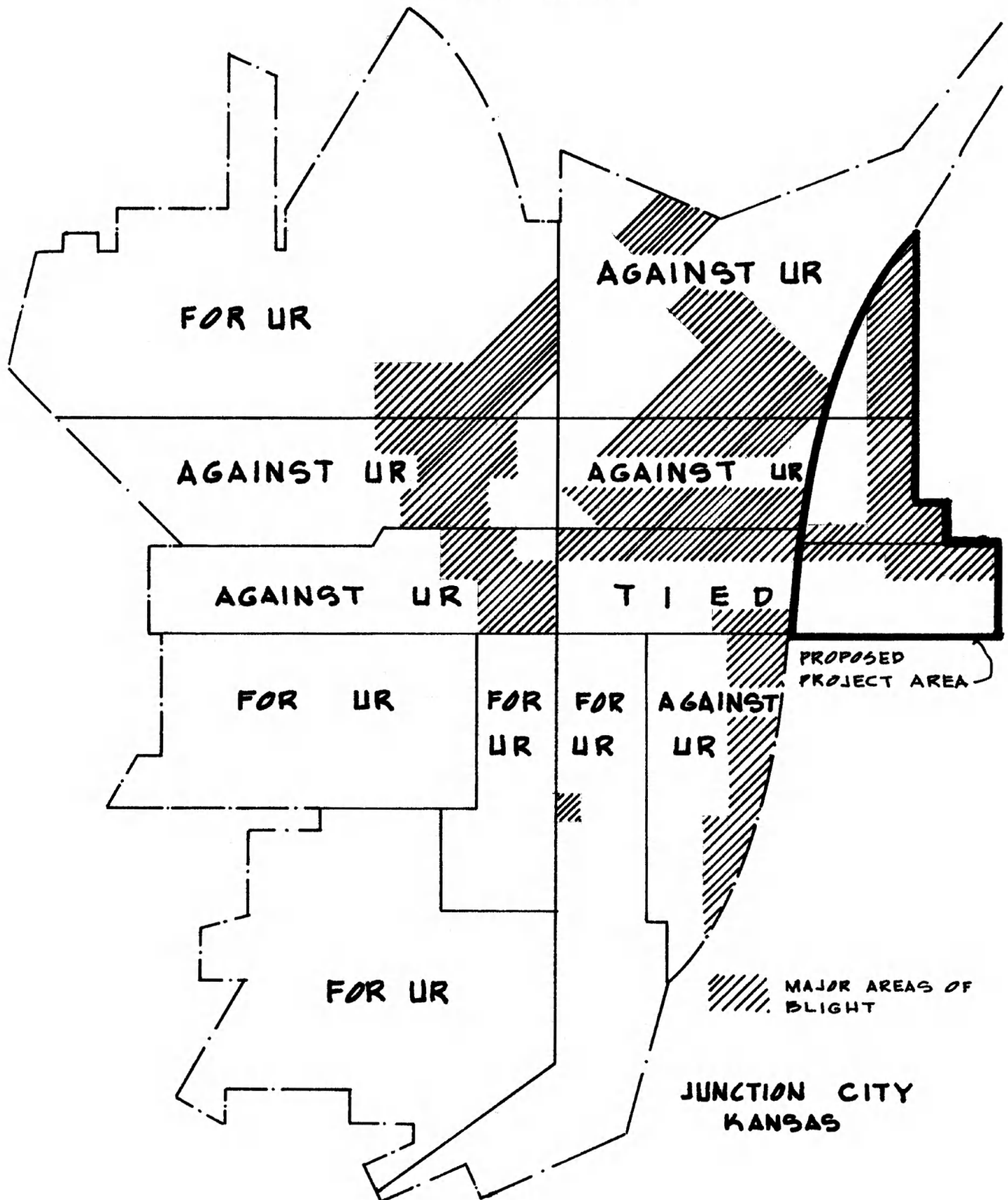
#### Conclusion

The manner in which urban renewal was presented to the public caused many of the problems which occurred. The city fathers violated some rules of public relations, decision making and good representative government. They forgot (or never learned) that communication is a two way process. A rapport must be established between the city commission and its public before the commission can have the confidence of the community. This does not mean that the city must vote on every major decision, but that the public must have full knowledge of major issues.

This could have been achieved by the formulation of the CAC on October 5, 1965, instead of the formulation of the URA on that date. The mission of the CAC would then have been to "Advise the city commission of the possibilities and ramifications of urban renewal." Instead it became an organization to fill the citizens participation portion of the 'workable program.'

FIGURE 5.2

## VOTING BY PRECINCT



Even if the CAC had been organized with proper orientation and at the proper time, its make-up would have also been a mistake. It was organized as a "blue-ribbon" committee, in every sense of the word. Not only was it made up of highly respected individuals who were community leaders, but it also contained citizens almost exclusively from the better sections of town.

Only four members of the committee resided east of Washington Avenue. This area contains a majority of the blighted structures. Only eleven members of the committee lived on blocks designated blighted by the windshield survey. This means that the people who would be directly affected by most urban renewal projects had little voice in the CAC and therefore little voice in urban renewal.

A second circumstance which precipitated opposition was an informal decision which was made by the city commission. They wanted to have a successful urban renewal project in which the city's share could be paid through credits. This would not require a bond election. The commission thought this would not bring opposition to a head. The idea behind this decision was that a successful urban renewal project, which would not require an increase in taxes, would become the best argument for further urban renewal projects. It is true that success in urban renewal is a great advantage for new projects. But it is also true that if the community feels that it has no voice in portions of government there will surely be opposition.

The commission failed to understand the public opinion in another way. The initial project which was proposed was to be

an 87 acre industrial park on the east part of town. One of the arguments which was raised mentioned the industrial park south-east of town which had remained undeveloped for a number of years. Residents of the project area could not see why their homes should be destroyed to make room for an industrial park that might also lay undeveloped.

These mistakes by the city commission laid the basis for controversy, which could have been overcome through other actions of the commission. The commission gave opposition encouragement when they failed to take a definite stand. Their indecision showed the public that the commission itself was not completely sold on urban renewal as a cure for the ills of the community. If the city commission had not tabled the motion on May 3, 1966, they would have shown a common belief that urban renewal was an appropriate tool for the community development and therefore added to its support.

The commission is not completely to blame for the controversy. The planning firm failed to fully appreciate the role of the planner in the community. He is not the client of the city commission alone, but of the city as a whole. The local radio station, through its "talk programs," gave a public forum to those opposed to urban renewal, but failed to stress both sides of the issue. It is also the opinion of the author that certain influential business leaders failed to give their whole-hearted support to urban renewal for fear of hurting their business.

And finally, human nature, being what it is, clouded

the issues. Since the Ervin family was in complete support of urban renewal, some citizens opposed it. A successful family with many interests is associated with power and machine politics and is therefore opposed.

None of these factors alone could have blocked urban renewal effectively, but taken as a group they were successful in the elimination of urban renewal from Junction City.

#### FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER V

1. Citizens Advisory Committee of Junction City, Kansas, "Secretary's Minutes," January 11, 1966.

## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSIONS, SUGGESTIONS AND COMMENTS

#### Conclusions

The literature review of the studies of larger communities indicates that success in undertaking urban renewal programs requires a lack of organized local opposition, not a lack of dialogue. Misunderstanding and fear of relocation were the major factors in causing controversy. The comparison of the six characteristics did not indicate a direct relationship between the characteristics and controversy. The comparison did identify relationships which might prove useful and relevant for further study. The descriptive case study of Junction City indicated that no one factor caused the controversy. The city commission, the planning firm, and the community leaders all were involved in contributing to the situation which resulted in controversy.

In brief the advisory committee and the author felt that the study has not been conclusive and that further research on the nature of the process of controversy, as well as the relevance of urban renewal should be undertaken.

#### Suggestions

As stated, this study suggests the need for further research. It also raises several questions. The major question concerns the validity of using a single characteristic as an indicator where there may be a multiple cause and effect relationship. Also there is a question of whether the selected



characteristics are valid indicators. Because of these questions the comparison of the six characteristics is reported with reservations.

A comparative study of local urban renewal controversies should be undertaken to determine characteristics common to the process of controversy. This should then be followed by a statistical study of the common characteristics as predictors of controversy.

Other research is suggested which would further investigate the relevance of urban renewal. Since urban renewal has initiated so much controversy, the concept, procedures and requirements of urban renewal should be studied, to discover if faults in urban renewal itself might be the critical factor in creating controversy.

It is further suggested that the groups which support urban renewal should be studied to determine if their attitudes are consistent with the goals of urban renewal and/or if their support of urban renewal is initiated for personal gain.

In this way the planner could better analyze a situation to discover if urban renewal is a viable strategy to community response to future growth and change. If urban renewal was found to be a useful and acceptable technique, then the planner should formulate programs and procedures to gain understanding, acceptance and support for urban renewal.

#### Comments

Urban renewal has fulfilled its purpose in many



communities. It has eliminated slums, stopped blight, and slowed down deterioration. In other communities it has not been given a chance. Urban renewal has been stopped before the workable program has been formulated. It has been stopped in the planning stages. It has been stopped during execution and it has been stopped after the first project. In all but the last of these situations urban renewal has not been given a chance.

It is granted that urban renewal is not perfect. Rather than stopping urban renewal, opponents should try to modify the programs of urban renewal to more closely parallel their beliefs and ideologies. As Robert Weaver, Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, said in his discussion of new directions for urban renewal:

As I see it there are two dangers in the future. The first is the existing tendency of some to cite the program's defects--real and imaginary--as a basis for doing away with it entirely. Unless there is a substitute to perform the functions that have been outlined above as the directions of the program (and the opponents of urban renewal have no workable substitutes), we shall not save or revitalize our cities without urban renewal. (Nor, of course, will urban renewal alone perform that feat.) The second danger, and in many ways a more serious one, is that we will attempt to freeze the form of what is still a young and evolving program.<sup>1</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER VI

1. Robert Weaver, "New Directions in Urban Renewal," Urban Renewal: The Record and the Controversy, (Cambridge, MIT Press, 1967), p. 671.

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## APPENDICES

- A - 1      Communities Studied in Specific Comparisons
- A - 2      Questions and Answers at Public Forum:    Junction City,  
                 Kansas
- A - 3      Petition Protesting Urban Renewal Program in Junction  
                 City, Kansas
- A - 4      Petition for Referendum on Urban Renewal in Junction  
                 City, Kansas

## APPENDIX A - 1

## Communities Studied in Specific Comparisons

## Communities rejecting urban renewal

Texas

Beaumont  
Brownwood  
Corpus Cristi  
Corsicana  
Denton  
Donna  
Fort Worth  
Hillsboro  
Ingleside  
Laredo  
Snyder  
South Houston  
Texas City  
Uvarlde  
Vernon  
Wichita Falls

Arkansas

Brinkley  
Fort Smith  
Meda  
Paris  
Russelville

Kansas

Emporia  
Hutchinson  
Junction City

Oklahoma

Ada  
Broken Arrow  
Chichasha  
Sapulpa  
Sand Springs  
Talequan

Missouri

Carthage  
Ferguson  
Sedalia

## Communities with successful urban renewal

Texas

Aransas Pass  
Austin  
Brenham  
Cameron  
Crocket  
Crystal City  
Dallas  
Edinburg  
Fort Worth  
Freeport  
Georgetown  
Grand Prairie  
Hearne  
Lubbock  
Marshall  
Mercedes  
Mission  
Port Arthur  
Port Issabel  
San Antonio  
San Marcos

Sinton  
Texarkana  
Waco  
White Settlement

Arkansas

Blytheville  
Brinkley  
Camden  
Clarkville  
Fayetteville  
Harrison  
Hope  
Hot Springs  
Little Rock  
Marianna  
McGehee  
Morrilton  
N. Little Rock  
Osceda

Pine Bluff  
Russelville  
Searcy  
Springdale  
Texarkana  
Trumann  
W. Memphis

Oklahoma

Edmond  
Lawton  
McAlester  
Miami  
Muskogee  
Norman  
Sand Springs  
Stillwater  
Tulsa

## APPENDIX A - 1 (cont'd.)

## Communities with successful urban renewal (cont'd.)

Kansas

Atchinson  
Augusta  
Bonner Springs  
Coffeyville  
Colby  
Dodge City  
Fort Scott  
Kansas City  
Leavenworth  
Olathe  
Parsons  
Salina  
Topeka  
Wichita

Missouri

Columbia  
Independence  
Jefferson City  
Joplin  
Kansas City  
Lee Summit  
Mexico  
Olivette  
Rolla  
St. Charles  
St. Joseph  
St. Louis  
Springfield  
University City  
Webster Groves

## APPENDIX A - 2

## Questions and Answers from Public Forum

Junction City Daily UnionApril 30, 1966

- Q --- Does state law require a vote of the people on urban renewal?
- A --- (Hamele) State law does not require a vote of the people.
- Q --- Why aren't people allowed to vote on such an important matter?
- A --- (Bucher) State statutes do not require a vote and elections cannot be held without some expense; if a substantial bond issue were involved then an election probably would be held.
- Q --- Can the city beautification program be used instead of urban renewal?
- A --- (Hamele) City beautification is an altogether different thing; it does not accomplish the same objectives.
- Q --- Will home owners receive enough for their properties to pay the replacement costs for another house?
- A --- Each property will be judged on its own merits.
- Q --- Are owners paid on the appraised value or replacement value?
- A --- They are paid an appraised value, with appraisals by qualified real estate appraisers.
- Q --- Who is going to get the big benefit from urban renewal, how do they get paid, and how much?
- A --- (Coates) This is difficult to answer; I would have to say that the benefits would be for the entire community; we could compare this Milford and hope and assume that all would benefit.
- Q --- If this goes through will any of the land be used for low cost housing; subsidized by the federal government?
- A --- Some cities have undertaken such projects, and this would be possible.
- Q --- Will the city commissioners allow the voters to vote on urban renewal?

## APPENDIX A - 2 (cont'd.)

- A --- This is not required except for bond issues.
- Q --- How is it considered constitutional to saddle a citizen with a mortgage on another property if he now has his house paid for?
- A --- (Bucher) This is a good question, but not an engineering matter. However, the rural urban program as been upheld by the courts.
- Q --- Why don't we get industry first, before the houses are torn down; people at Wichita and Topeka have stated that they have not received replacement costs for their homes?
- A --- (Docking) It has been pretty well established that you have to have an industrial site to bring industry into town.
- Q --- Some of the business buildings on Washington Street, Sixth to Ninth, are pretty well depreciated; would not an overall plan make them more desirable?
- A --- The city has to pay a proportionate of the cost, three-fourths by the federal government and one-fourth by the city, which may be for contributions in the form of street and utility costs. If the cost in the proposed area is \$1 million, this means a cost of \$250,000 for the city. The city has credits of \$140,000 for work done, and this would require only \$110,000 more. Costs would be higher in the business area and would require substantially more local money.
- Q --- Why take houses away from persons who have worked all their lives for them?
- A --- (Coates) This is difficult to answer, but we have to think ahead as to the future of our community and its needs in growth.
- Q --- What will become of the houses in the urban renewal area?
- A --- (Hamele) The houses will be cleared by the urban renewal agency, by a demolition contractor. The owner can remove his house in advance of purchase if he wishes.
- Q --- If industry is so anxious to come here why has the Katy industrial tract remained undeveloped?
- A --- (Docking) Companies looking for industrial sites and brought into the Kaw valley area have wanted tracts in excess of this in size. Industry wants well engineered buildings, in suitable surroundings.



## APPENDIX A - 2 (cont'd.)

Q --- When do we have a meeting like this to present the negative side?

A --- (Coates) This is not a meeting to present the positive side; we are trying to bring information and facts.

Q --- Who will make the decision on whether urban renewal is approved?

A --- (Hamele) Your city commission will make the final decision.

Q --- If residents are not allowed to vote, is it not true that urban renewal is being stuffed down our throats?

A --- The city commission is elected by the people themselves, and they represent the people.

Q --- How can the desires of the people of Junction City be determined without a vote?

A --- (Hamele) A citizens advisory committee is appointed by the city commission, and they make recommendations to your city commission, your elected representatives.

Q --- How can Junction City pay its share of the cost when we have lost 4,000 residents, and those who are here are going to have to make up the difference?

A --- (Coates) When we look ahead, we believe Junction City is going to grow and prosper; there are many evidences of growth and faith in our city's future.

Q --- Is't this a form of communism to take my home which I have worked so hard for, and turn it over to promoters?

A --- We believe the city at large could benefit, but don't believe it will mean benefits for any individuals.

Q --- Why subject the people of our city to greater taxes when the city could do this at less cost?

A --- (Wilson) So far, the city is only investigating the possibility of urban renewal; the commission only has this under study, and there has been no decision to proceed farther at this point.

Q --- Why don't you show the map of urban renewal areas which some persons have seen?

A --- (Coates) This is in the planning; we are planning to put it on display in a store window in the very near future.

## APPENDIX A - 2 (con'td.)

Q --- Are meetings of the following open to the public?

City commission. A --- Open at all times.

Citizens Advisory Committee. A --- Open, but not a public forum, since there is no business to transact.

Urban Renewal Commission. A --- (Stark) Regular meetings are held the first Tuesday of each month, 4 p.m., in the Municipal Building and they are open to the public as far as I know.

Metropolitan Planning Commission. A --- (Wilson) I'm sure parts of the meeting are open to the public although some parts may not be.

## APPENDIX A - 3

## Petition Protesting Urban Renewal Program in Junction City

TO THE CITY COMMISSION OF JUNCTION CITY, KANSAS:

The undersigned residents and voters of Junction City, Kansas, hereby respectfully petition and request the City Commission to defer proceeding with the proposed urban renewal program; of, at least, after a careful and thorough investigation, to carefully limit the scope of its operation to projects that would prove economically feasible and sound, for the following reasons: (1) that some preliminary estimates that have been given indicate that the cost per acre of land to be cleared for other than present uses will be so high per acre that the project would not seem feasible; (2) that rehabilitation of some so-called blighted areas would involve local contributions of substantial sums of money far in excess of what the city could reasonably be expected to contribute without unduly raising local property taxes and limiting other necessary governmental activities; (3) that for a period of time the city would lose the tax revenues from cleared areas; (4) that merely because federal funds are available for this general purpose does not relieve the city of the responsibility to see that these funds are spent in a sensible, businesslike manner.

Wherefore, the undersigned petitioners respectfully request the City Commission of Junction City to defer proceeding with said urban renewal program, or, at the very least, to carefully weigh all projects from the point of view of both feasibility and the ability of the city to finance its portion of any such projects.

## APPENDIX A - 4

## Petition for Referendum on Urban Renewal in Junction City

WHEREAS, the governing body of the City of Junction City, Kansas, has under consideration the development of property reconstruction and renewal through mechanisms provided for in Title III of Public Law 89-117, commonly known as the "Urban Renewal Law," and

WHEREAS, such "renewal" projects have proved expensive, wasteful, inefficient, and ineffective, and

WHEREAS, such projects cause loss of property rights of individual citizens, loss of economic security for those of less fortunate circumstances, undue hardship to home owners and destruction of small businesses, and

WHEREAS, these electors believe such procedures to be contrary to the best interests of the citizens and community of Junction City, Kansas, and therefore desire to prevent their implementation,

NOW, THEREFORE, we, the following electors of the City of Junction City, Kansas, hereby submit for adoption by the governing body of the City of Junction City, Kansas, the following proposed ordinance:

## ORDINANCE NO.

"AN ORDINANCE RELATING TO THE EXERCISE OF URBAN RENEWAL PROJECT POWERS BY THE GOVERNING BODY OF THE CITY OF JUNCTION CITY, KANSAS.

"BE IT ORDAINED BY THE GOVERNING BODY OF THE CITY OF JUNCTION CITY, KANSAS:

"That no powers heretofore or hereafter conferred upon the Governing Body of the City of Junction City, Kansas, under the provisions of Chapter 17 of the Kansas Statutes Annotated shall be exercised for the implementation of Title III of Public Law 89-117 (so-called Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965)."

Passed by the City Commission of the City of Junction City, Kansas, the \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_, 196\_\_\_\_.

"We further request that the governing body pass the above ordinance or submit the same to a vote of the electors as required by law."

URBAN RENEWAL CONTROVERSY:  
An Exploratory Study

by

JOHN HOWARD BALDWIN

B. Arch., Kansas State University, 1967

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AN ABSTRACT OF A MASTER'S THESIS

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree

MASTER OF REGIONAL AND COMMUNITY PLANNING

Interdepartmental Program in  
Regional and Community Planning

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY  
Manhattan, Kansas

1968

Since its beginning in the study of slums authorized by Congress in 1892, urban renewal has been opposed by some individuals and groups. This opposition has taken many forms. Some have opposed urban renewal because they feel that it is disrupting the natural pattern of development of the city. Some oppose it because they feel that the federal government has no place in the development of the city. Most opposition covers the middle ground between these two extremes.

The objective of this thesis is to explore the roots of urban renewal controversy. This will build a foundation for the complete understanding of opposition.

This was done in four parts. First through a review of the literature on the controversy of urban renewal. This review explored the evolution of urban renewal, the basis of controversy over urban renewal and the nature of the groups involved in this controversy.

The second portion of the thesis is a review of the literature of descriptive case studies on urban renewal. It compares these studies to derive characteristics of people and communities which precipitate controversy. The characteristics which were derived were median family income, per cent non-white, educational level, results of voting in national elections, per cent with income below \$3,000, and distance from an SMSA with a successful urban renewal program.

A specific comparison of these characteristics in 117 communities in the HUD south central region of the United States, comprises the third portion. The characteristics were compared

between the communities accepting and rejecting urban renewal in the region. All of the characteristics except median family income showed trends which warrant further research.

The final part of the thesis is a descriptive case study of Junction City, Kansas, a community which has rejected urban renewal. This study revealed that controversy and opposition were brought about by misunderstanding, incorrect timing and poor presentation on the part of the city commission, the planning firm, community leaders and the citizens of the community.

These studies found that misunderstanding of urban renewal and the fear of relocation play an important part in opposition to urban renewal in both large and small communities. This suggests the need for further research which would give us a better understanding of opposition to urban renewal and how one might cope with it, for example, a statistical analysis and comparison of the characteristics of all communities in the United States which accepted or rejected urban renewal.